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MISCELLANEOUS

REMARKS

ON

"THE ENQUIRY INTO THE EVIDENCE AGAINST MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS."

LONDON:
Printed for J. ROBSON, New Bond Street; and
G. ROBINSON, Pater Noster Row.
M DCC LXXXIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

MISCELLANEOUS

REMARKS, &c.

SECTION I.

IT may not be improper, in the entrance, to remove a popular error, common to the friends and to the enemies of Queen Mary.

The intercourſe between her and the earl of Bothwell was ill-fated, and, in its conſequences, diſaſtrous, but, with reſpect to her, it was innocent.

When, therefore, the Champions of her honour ſpeak of that intercourſe, they ought to combat with weapons of proof, and not with the "telum "imbelle ſine ictu" of old Priam.

It happens, that the following *collateral* argument has been uſed in defence of Queen Mary. "It is not eaſy to conceive—that the object of "her paſſion ſhould be *an old man!* Mary was "then ſcarce twenty-four years of age, in the full "bloom of youth and beauty, while Bothwell was "*already declined in the vale of years.*" So ſays the author of "*The Enquiry into the Evidence againſt* "Mary *Queen of* Scots," P. 280, and there is added, in a note, "We cannot ſuppoſe Bothwell, "at that time, to have been under ſixty."*

* It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the ingenious author of the *Enquiry* has not prefixed his name to that admired work, and therefore, in the courſe of my Remarks, I muſt ſpeak of him, as of an anonymous writer.

All this is a miſtake, and the miſtake ariſes from the confounding *James* earl of Bothwell with his father, *Patrick*.

It is certain that, in 1566, *James* earl of Bothwell was not *already declined in the vale of years*, and that the fancy of his being a man of *threeſcore* is altogether inconſiſtent with hiſtorical facts.

Buchanan thus ſpeaks concerning Bothwell, "But his defaultes in martial feates, perhaps the "man ſupplied with civile vertues. Alas? quhat "wer thay? or quhat vertues coulde be luked "for in him? A man, perdie, *brocht up* in the "Byſchop of Murrayes palace, to wite, a maiſt "wickit corruptit hous, in droncennes and hore-"domes, amangſt maiſt vile miniſteries of diſſo-"lute diſorder."*

We muſt not look for a true character of Bothwell in this outrageous libel. But we may aſſure ourſelves, that Buchanan would not have aſſerted that Bothwell was *brought up* in the houſe of the Biſhop of Murray, if that circumſtance, in itſelf inſignificant, had not been pucklickly known.

Patrick Hepburn, ſon of Patrick firſt earl of Bothwell, was made Biſhop of Moray in the year 1535. He ſurvived the downfall of the Roman Catholic church, and died in 1573.†

He was the brother of the grandfather of Bothwell, and this may well account for Bothwell having been brought up in the epiſcopal palace of Moray.

If Bothwell had been *threeſcore* in 1566, he muſt have been about *thirty* when his great uncle was advanced to the office of Biſhop, and conſequently, he could not, even in the utmoſt latitude of

* *Detection. F.* 2. [or *P.* 65.] this is tranſcribed from a copy marked by Mr. Goodall, as the *firſt edition*.

† *Keith.* Catalogue of Scottiſh Biſhops. *P.* 88.

ſpeech,

ſpeech, have been ſaid to have been "*brocht up* "in the Byſchop of Murrayes palace."*

I am now to produce another piece of evidence, which is perfectly concluſive as to the age of Bothwell.

In 1560, Throkmorton, the Engliſh embaſſador at Paris, thus writes to Queen Eliſabeth, "The "earl of Bothwell is departed ſuddenly from this "court to return into Scotland by Flanders, and "hath made boaſt, that he will do great things "and live in Scotland, in the deſpite of all men."

"*He is a glorious, raſh and hazardous* YOUNG "MAN, and therefore, it were meet his adver- "ſaries ſhould both have an eye to him, and alſo "keep him ſhort;†" a ſage advice, pity that it was not followed!

If Bothwell was a *young man* in 1560, he could not, in 1566, have been *advanced into the vale of life*, and much leſs, *threeſcore*.

This fact then being aſcertained, it may be amuſing to obſerve the arguments of the author of the *Enquiry* for proving the advanced age of Bothwell, when his intercourſe with Queen Mary began.

"*In hæc*, ſays Buchanan, *cùm* Levinius *&* *na-* "*turâ proclivior, & aulæ Gallicæ conſuetudine exer-* "*citatus eſſet, acceſſit æmulus* Jacobus Heburnus

* Buchanan, with good reaſon, obſerves, that that palace "wes a muiſte wickit corruptit houſe in—horedomes," for Biſhop Hepburn had five baſtard ſons, Adam, Patrick, George, John and a ſecond Patrick, and two baſtard daughters, Janet and Agnes. *Records*. B. 29. No. 285, and B. 30. No. 572. [I will not anſwer for the accuracy of theſe references.]

Neither is he much miſtaken when he ſpeaks of "wile miniſ- "teries of diſſolute miſorder," for Keith obſerves, that biſhop Hepburn "found the Biſhoprick in good condition, but feued "out all the lands belonging to it." *Catalogue of Scottiſh Biſhops*. P. 88.

† *Hardwicke*. i. 149.

" *comes* Bothuelliæ.—*is enim a Jacobo Quinto rele-*
" *gatus, ac ſtatim, eo mortuo, domum reverſus, eiſdem*
" *artibus Reginæ viduæ nuptias ambiebat, & emine-*
" *bant in utroq; naturæ & fortunæ dotes.* Bucha-
" nan. *L.* xv. *p.* 276 and *p.* 285. This agrees
" perfectly with the ſame authors account of
" Bothwell, in his *Detection*, and proves that *he*
" *muſt, before his marriage with Queen Mary, have*
" *been an old man*; that the above *James* was Queen
" Mary's huſband, is certain from this fact, that
" he was the only Earl of that family of the name
" of *James.**"

This is demonſtration indeed, if we acknowledge the infallibility of Buchanan. But the truth is, that Buchanan, either from inadvertency or through a defect in memory incident to old age, put *Jacobus* inſtead of *Patricius.*

My Lord Hales quotes a writing in *his* poſſeſſion, which proves, that *Patrick* earl of Bothwell, the father of *James*, died in September, 1556.† I have reaſon to believe that that writing is, at preſent, in the poſſeſſion of his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh to whom it belongs.

That writing proves to demonſtration that the Earl of Bothwell, one of the ſuitors of the Queen Dowager, was a perſon different from the huſband of Queen Mary.

Another circumſtance, mentioned by the author of the *Enquiry*, is rather ludicrous, he ſays, " Bu-
" chanan mentions the Lady Reres as an old
" woman, who, *in her youth*, had been a miſtreſs
" to the Earl of Bothwell. *Rereſia quæ inter pellices*
" *Bothuellii ſuerat, nunc*, inclinatâ ætate, *ad lenoci-*
" *nium ſe contulerat.*"

* *Enquiry.* P. 281.

† *Remarks on the Hiſtory of Scotland*, P. 167, a book, little known, in which the author is, alternately, a ſceptic and a dogmatiſt.

From

From a multitude of goſſiping and malicious ſtories, he has ſelected one as of good credit, although, no doubt, he diſbelieves all the others, forged in the ſame mint.

But, *where* did he learn, that "Dame Reres," as Buchanan calls her, was, *in her youth*, the miſtreſs of Bothwell? A lady of her diſpoſitions, if they be truly reported, might have been engaged in her firſt vocation, for twenty or twenty-five years, before ſhe betook herſelf to that of procuring, and we know not at what period it was, that ſhe firſt became acquainted with Bothwell.

Beſides, the author appears to be ignorant of this hiſtorical fact, that, in thoſe times, it was the province of elderly coquettes, to debauch, or, as the French call it, to *form* young men of quality.

It is to be preſumed that we ſhall hear no more of the contraſt between the beautiful young princeſs and the aged nobleman, or of the unnatural union of January and May, and that the honour of Queen Mary will be no longer expoſed, even to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, by imprudent and fallacious reaſonings.

SECTION II.

IT is remarked by the author of the *Enquiry*, that the first appearance of the famous Letters is in an Act of Privy Council, 4th December, 1567; in which there is mention made of the Queen's "privie letters, written and *subscrivit* with her "awin hand, and send by her to James Erle of "Bothwell."

Here, there is said to be an *ugly jarring* between two public instruments, and it is conjectured, that, when the *crafty* politicians, Murray, Morton, and the others came to consider *deliberately* and with *cool reflection*, they thought that it might shock the credulity of many people to believe that the Queen could be so far deprived of common sense as to put her name to such letters, and, therefore, "they might very naturally, in the copies they "produced before the Parliament, *withdraw the* "*subscription*, and, in place of mentioning the let-"ters to be *written and subscrivit* by the Queen, "substitute the words, *halelie with her awin* "*hand*."*

Mr. Hume ascribes the difference to an inaccuracy of the Clerk of the Privy Council. "The "letters, says he, were only *wrote* by her, the "second contract with Bothwell was only *subscrib-*"*ed*, a proper description [distinction] was not "made; and so they are said to be *wrote* and *sub-*"*scribed*;" this is the sense of Mr. Hume's remark, as given by the author of the *Enquiry*.

* *Enquiry*, P. 13.

The

The remark is not contemptible, however, much it may be deſpiſed by ſome men; for, as "letter "of tack," and "letter of penſion," are phraſes uſed in Scotland, ſo, "letter of eſpouſals" may be proper enough.

But another, and a more eaſy and obvious ſolution may be ſuggeſted.

He who writes a deed with his own hand does generally ſign it, and it is hardly poſſible to figure a caſe of a *perfect* deed written by the parties own hand and not ſigned by him: hence, *written and ſubſcribed* conſtantly go together in common language, juſt as *heirs and executors*. As every one, converſant in law buſineſs, muſt have ſeen *executors* joined to *heirs*, in conſequence of what may be termed the cuſtomary affinity between them, although the maker of the deed meant not to ſpeak of *executors*, ſo, in like manner, the Clerk of Privy Council might have added, *ſubſcrivit* to *written*; it appears, that this inaccuracy was obſerved and immediately corrected.

This hypotheſis ſeems more ſimple than that, adopted by the author of the *Enquiry*; it is not probable that crafty politicians, who had *deliberated* for weeks, and perhaps for months, on a moſt capital forgery, ſhould have been ſo late in diſcovering the impropriety of making Queen Mary *ſign* the letters, and then, in a ſudden fit of *cool recollection*, ſhould have diſcovered it.

Beſides, "to *withdraw* a ſubſcription" is no eaſy matter; it can only be effected by the means of ſome chemical preparation, or by the making a raſure, and to have attempted *this* on *eight* different letters would have been a work of infinite hazard and of doubtful ſucceſs.

There is no reaſon to believe that *all* the members preſent at the Privy Council, 4th December, 1567, and in the Parliament, 15th December,

1567,

1567, were the obſequious tools of the Earl of Murray; if, in thoſe aſſemblies, there was any one independent man, or any one favourer of the Queen and of juſtice, (the Earl of Errol for inſtance) this fraud, accompliſhed by the ſingular method of *withdrawing ſubſcriptions* muſt have been detected.

The fraud, as it is called, was not diſcovered at the time; but, after an interval of two hundred years, there appears a dubious conjecture, importing that there *might* have been a fraud.

The innocence of Queen Mary ought to be maintained on more ſolid grounds.

SEC.

SECTION III.

MR. Goodall has proved, that the French copy of the *firſt* letter (ſaid to have been written by Queen Mary to the Earl of Bothwell) is merely a tranſlation from the Latin copy, which Latin copy is ſuppoſed to be the work of Buchanan.

It would be ſuperfluous to reſume all his arguments; one particular, however, ſhall be mentioned, becauſe it affords a demonſtrative proof of the certainty of his concluſion, and yet has not been ſtated by himſelf ſo fully and exactly as he might have done.

" In the Latin copy there are various typogra-
" phical errors, and the French tranſlator has ac-
" commodated his verſion to them."

Thus in the Latin, Queen Mary is made to ſay, " tuam armillam conficiebam, cui nullam " poſſum *ceram* [inſtead of *ſeram*] invenire. Id " unum ad perfectionem ei deeſt;" which the French tranſlator thus renders, " je faiſoye voſtre " braſſelet, auquel je ne puis accomoder de la " *cire:* car c'eſt ce qui defaut à ſa perfection;" it is plain that *ſera*, and not *cera*, was the word uſed by the Latin tranſlator, and that the French verſion ought to have ſaid *ſerrure*, and not *cire*.

Mr. Goodall ſays, " Buchanan unhappily wrote the " Latin word for *a look* with *c* inſtead of *ſ*, *cera* for *ſera*.*

But it is very unlikely that Buchanan, or any other man of learning ſhould have committed

* *V.* 1. *P.* 96.

ſuch

ſuch an error: ſo the error may, with much more probability, be aſcribed to the printer.

Again, "ſed in timore [proceres] futuros, quod "*comitatus* [inſtead of *comminatus*] fuiſſet, ſi ali- "quando inter nos concordes eſſemus, ſe daturum "operam ut intelligerent quam parvi eum eſti- "maſſent;" the French tranſlator, by overlooking the typographical error of *comitatus* for *comminatus*, has produced this ridiculous verbiage,—"ains "ſeroient [les Seigneurs] en crainte *de ce m'auroit* "*ſuivi*, & ſi nous pouvions eſtre d'accord enſem- "ble, qu'il pourroit donner ordre qu'ils enten- "droient combien peu ils l'avoient eſtimé."

"Valde ferociter ab initio loquebatur—ſed tan- "dem reverſus eſt ad *ſuam humanitatem*;"—in a former part of the letter, Queen Mary is made to ſay, "nunquam vidi eum—loqui *humilius*," and it would have been abſurd to have made her praiſe the innate and characteriſtical civility of Darnley, [*ſua humanitas.*] Hence we may conclude, that the Latin tranſlator uſed the word *humilitas*, and that *humanitas* is an error of the preſs. The faithful French tranſlator ſays, "au commencement il "parloit fort aſprement—mais enfin il revint à *ſa* "*douceur*."

"*Quod* amabis, amabo, & cupio ut *eorum* ſimili- "ter conciliabis amorem; quia poſtquam non "petunt vitam meam, omnes amo ex æquo." The French tranſlator, might have ſeen, from the word *eorum*, that *quod* was a typographical error for *quos*, nevertheleſs, with his wonted ſervility, he renders the paſſage thus, "j'aimerai *ce que* vous "aimerez, & deſire que pareillement vous acque- "riez *leur* amitié, car puiſqu'ils ne pourchaſſent "à m'oſter la vie, je les aime tous egalement."

Theſe examples are ſufficient to demonſtrate the truth of Mr. Goodall's propoſition with regard to the general tenor of the firſt letter, as we have it in French.

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SECTION IV.

BUT, Dr. Robertſon imagines, that a few words at the beginning of the *firſt* letter are ſtill preſerved in the original French, and he has attempted to ſhew that the ingenious and accurate criticiſm of Mr. Goodall is not applicable to thoſe words.

The firſt ſentence of the firſt letter deſerves to be particularly conſidered.

It runs thus, " eſtant party du lieu ou j'avois " laiſſé mon cœur, il ſe peult ayſement juger " qu'elle eſtoit ma contenance, veu ce que peult " un corps ſans cœur, qui a eſté cauſe que juſ- " ques á la diſneé je n'ay pas tenu grand propos, " auſſi perſonne ne s'eſt voulu advancer, jugeant " bien, qu'il n'y faiſoit bon."

Dr. Robertſon remarks, in particular, that the Latin " corpus ſine corde," has not the ſpirit and elegance of the French. The author of the *Enquiry* anſwers, that the one is as happily expreſſed as the other, whence it is " difficult to ſay *which* is " the original."*

This is matter of taſte, rather than a ſubject of diſputation, and he, who perceives as much eaſe and originality in, " cum planè perinde eſſem atq; " corpus ſine corde," as in, " veu ce que peult " un corps ſans cœur," will not be convinced of the contrary by any lectures on rhetoric.

The author, however adds, " But I ſhall make " no ſcruple fairly to acknowledge, that in one " or two inſtances, [at the beginning of the " letters] there ſeems to be a happier turn of " phraſe in the French than in the Latin, but ſtill

* *Enquiry*. P. 105.

this

" this only ſhows, what every man of reading " muſt frequently obſerve, that the moſt wretched " and dull tranſlation, in ſome particular ſen- " tences ſcattered through it, may even ſurpaſs " the original in the turn of a phraſe."

The author attempts to confirm this remark by examples drawn from that part of the firſt French letter, which is admitted to be a tranſlation.

Lat. " *Homo honeſto loco natus* a comite Leviniæ " ad me venit." *Fr.* " Vint à moi un *gentil-* " *homme* envoyé par le comte de Lenox."

The tendency of this compariſon is not obvious, for, " homo honeſto loco natus," is neither better nor worſe, than, " un gentilhomme," and indeed it could hardly have been rendered into French in any other way.

Lat. " Magnoperè cupiebat, *ut ego in ejus hoſ-* " *pitio* apud eum diverterem." *Fr.* " Il deſiroit " fort que j'allaſſe loger en ſon hôtel."

The author of the *Enquiry* ſays, " how heavily " runs this in Latin!" But a point of admiration is not an argument, and the Latin ſeems to expreſs more than what is in the French; for the French has omitted, " apud eum," which may imply ſomething elſe than " loger en ſon " hôtel."

Lat. " Ego ſum adoleſcens." *Fr.* " Je ſuis " jeune."

It is remarked, that " this is very puerile in " the Latin, and does not convey the meaning " of the ſentence, which might, more properly, " have been tranſlated thus, *adhuc juvenis ſum.*"

The word, " yet," [adhuc] is not in the Scottiſh copy, and the French tranſlator could not have ſaid, " Je ſuis *encore* jeune," without departing from the Latin, which was to him, the original.

Beſides,

Beſides, the propoſed change of "adoleſcens" into "juvenis," is wrong. "Adoleſcens," is a word more fitly applied to the age of Darnley, than "juvenis," and Buchanan himſelf, calls Peter, young, *adoleſcens*, although he was then thirty-four years of age, and had been married for ſome time.*

Thus, theſe examples hardly ſerve to confirm the propoſition, that, "in ſome ſcattered ſen-"tences, a poor and low tranſlation may expreſs "the thought better than the original."

But, on the other hand, there are poſitive and cogent reaſons, for inducing us to believe, that the ſentence, under review, is not tranſlated from the Latin, as the reſt of the letter is.

For, "the ſenſe of the French is clear and "well expreſſed, and altogether in the peculiar "idiom of that language, while the Latin is "embaraſſed, varies in ſenſe from the French, "and, in one particular, is unintelligible."

Thus, "il ſe peult aiſement juger qu'elle etoit "ma *contenance*," is much ſuperior in elegance and accuracy, to, "facilis eſt conjectura, qui meus "fuerit *vultus*."

"Juſques à la dinée:" is preciſely the reverſe of "toto prandii tempore."

"Se offerre," does not expreſs the meaning of "s'avancer" for the Queen is here made to ſpeak of what happened on the road, and "be-"fore dinner," that is, "during the firſt ſtage of "her journey."

"Auſſi perſonne ne s'eſt voulu avancer, jugeant "bien qu'il n'y faiſoit bon," the Latin has, "ut "qui judicarent *id non eſſe ex uſu*;" this is not ſenſe, and it is not even conſiſtent with the Scot-tiſh copy, which bears, "that it was not *gude*

* *Ruddiman.* not. *ad Buchanani. Epiſtolas.* P. 37.

"ſo

" ſo to do;" the real meaning is, " l'occaſion " de s'approcher, de moi & de m'entretenir n'etoit " pas favorable," and, indeed, even this circumlocution does not fully attain to the import of the phraſe, as any one, converſant in the French language, muſt perceive.

And, therefore, until ſome more convincing evidence be produced to the contrary, we may ſuppoſe, that " the firſt ſentence of the firſt letter " is *a part of the original forgery.*"

SEC-

SECTION V.

IN oppoſition to Mr. Goodall's hypotheſis, it has been ſaid, "that the original French of "the *firſt* letter, excepting the few words already "quoted, is loſt, that the Scottiſh copy, ſo often "publiſhed, may have been a tranſlation from "that original, and that the French copy, ſtill "extant, may have been made, at ſecond-hand, "from the Scottiſh copy."

The author of the *Enquiry* will not even allow a rehearing on this argument.

He ſays, with ſome warmth, "ſince the Diſſer-"tator has been drove to deny that the French "letters before us are true copies of the originals, "*by all laws of proof and criticiſm*, it was his "buſineſs to produce the originals *"

I truſt, that *the rules of proof and criticiſm* are not ſo imperious, as to require a writing to be produced, whether it exiſt or not, and to preclude all exceptions againſt a ſuppoſed copy, if he, who excepts, be not in poſſeſſion of the original.

The honour of Queen Mary is to be vindicated by moral evidence; it muſt not take ſhelter under the ſcreen of municipal forms.

Biſhop Leſley, although his intentions were good, hurt the cauſe of his Sovereign at the very commencement, by treating it too much in the ſtyle of a lawyer; he demanded proof *comparatione literarum*, and, at the ſame time, he inſiſted that ſuch proof was, of all others, the weakeſt and moſt inconcluſive; he ſaid, that the letters were

* *Enquiry*, P. 85.

forged,

forged, and that they had nothing criminal in them.*

The author of the *Enquiry* adds, " how is it " poſſible to fix men who, *after having for two* " *hundred years*, quoted and inſiſted on thoſe " letters as originals——have now recourſe to " other letters which they acknowledge to be " loſt."

If any man ſhould, for *two hundred years*, perſiſt in one hypotheſis, and, at length, on being driven out of it, adopt another, we might well ſay, that it is hard to fix ſuch a man.

But, " it is none of the leaſt advantages which " we now enjoy, that *bigotry and party-rage* have, " at length, ſubſided," and in our times, he who writes on any ſubject, is *neither heir nor ſlave to another man's opinions.*

In this view of the caſe, it matters not what the adverſaries, or the apologiſts of Queen Mary may have ſaid in times paſt.

Ill would it have fared with the honour of that Princeſs, had another rule been eſtabliſhed, for then her apologiſts might have found themſelves tied down to ſay, as biſhop Leſley did, " Albeit " Darnley was her head in wedlock, yet was he " otherwiſe but a member of her commonweale, " ſubject to her, as to his principal and ſupreme " governeſſe, and to her lawes, by the due and " ordinary proceſſe and courſe whereof he might " juſtly have been convicted, condemned and " executed, as wel for the murder committed " upon David her ſecretarie, in whoſe body his " dagger was found ſtabbed, as for the impriſon- " ing of the Queene, and for the attempting to " remove her from civil government, to intrude

* *Defence of the Honour of Queen Mary*, P. 15—20, ap. *Anderſon* i.

" him

" himſelf thereto, and for divers other the like " pageants by him plaid.*

The truth is that, in *former times*, the apologiſts as well as the adverſaries of Queen Mary were rather too warm, and applauded and reviled with little attention to evidence.

Mr. Goodall firſt placed the controverſy on its proper ground of argument and criticiſm, and on that ground, if it has not been decided already, muſt it, in the end, be decided.

The hypotheſis, mentioned in the beginning of this ſection, was firſt ſuggeſted by Mr. Goodall.† But the arguments, that he employed for confuting it, did not ſatisfy his antagoniſts, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

Mr. Hume obſerves, that the Scottiſh copy of the firſt letter abounds in French words and Galliciſms; and, from that circumſtance, he concludes, that it is merely a tranſlation from a French original.

To this obſervation the author of the *Enquiry* makes anſwer, " Any perſon, converſant with the " language and writings in Queen Mary's time, " will ſee, that from the long and continued in- " tercourſe and connexion between the Scottiſh " and French nations at that time, the Scottiſh " language abounded with Galliciſms and even

* *Defence of the Honour of Queen Mary*, P. 7. ap. *Anderſon* i. This ſentiment is more forcibly expreſſed in the marginal ſummary; " it is nothing like, that the Queene would " have ſought the deſtruction of Lord Darnley by theſe " meanes, [by ſtrangling or gun-powder] when *ſhe might have* " *openly put him to death by juſtice.*" I ſuppoſe that this quotation will be a ſufficient anſwer to the query, whether Biſhop Leſley ought to be termed, " a faithful and *diſcreet* ſervant of " Queen Mary," or, " a man heated with faction." See *Enquiry*, P. 157. *not.* *.

† *V. P.* 99.

" French words; [he meant, with French words " and *even* with Galliciſms] ſome of which, though " now almoſt worn out in our writings, yet re- " main to this day in our language, eſpecially a- " mong the vulgar."*

Notwithſtanding the popular credit given to this aſſertion, there is ſome reaſon to believe that, as our ancient intercourſe with France did not add much to our importance and proſperity, ſo it did not add twenty words and phraſes to our language, ſuch, at leaſt, as ever became current in good company.

Our language, no doubt, has French words in it, and, perhaps, Galliciſms alſo, but they are, in general, derived from the Anglo-Norman, rather than from the French.

The examples, produced by the author of the *Enquiry*, do not greatly tend to prove the ſuppoſed prevalency of French words and galliciſms in the Scottiſh language.

His quotation from Secretary Cecil, who ſays, " And becauſe it was *bruited*," ſeems not to the purpoſe, for Cecil was an Engliſhman, and *bruited* is not a French word. Beſides, Throkmorton, alſo an Engliſhman, uſes *bruite* for *rumour*.†

Neither is it of moment, that Melvil, who had paſſed much of his time in France, uſed *fineſt*, for "The moſt penetrating genius," thus forming, by analogy, a ſuperlative from the French *fin*.

As to what the author ſays of *fin* and *finet* having the ſame ſenſe, he might as well have ſaid, that a *ſmatterer* in the French language and an *adept* are ſynonymous.

Thus much having been premiſed, let us conſider the remaining examples of French words and

* *Enquiry*, P. 109.
† *Hardwicke*, i. 139.

even

even of Galliciſms that the author of the *Enquiry* oppoſes to the Obſervation of Mr. Hume.

It is ſaid, "Mr. Hume himſelf, and every "Scotſman knows well what the vulgar mean, "by giving a *bonne allée*, or parting cup."

Bonne allée, if it be a French phraſe at all, means "a garden-walk, convenient and well-"kept."

"*Giving ones foy*, alſo means giving a parting-cup."

But does *foi* mean "a parting-cup" in French, or "donner ſa foi," to give a parting cup?"—the "Dutch phraſe, de *foy* geven," means, according to Skinner, who writes an Engliſh Etymological Dictionary, "coenam profectitiam dare, *i. e.* "fidem amicitiæ, etiam par abſentiam duraturæ, "dare;" *this* is exactly our *foy*: and, as the phraſe *is* Dutch, and is *not* French, it may be concluded that we got it from the Low-Countries, and not from France.

"To give a *benniſon*, or bleſſing, is ſtill a vulgar "phraſe."

Benniſon, however, is not a French word, and, if corrupted from *Benediction*, it may, with more probability be derived from the Engliſh, than from the French. Littleton has "*Beniſon*, bleſſing, "*Benedictio.*"

"Old people ſtill give the name of *montre* to a "watch."

Old people, *who have been* in France, or who *affect* French words, may give the name of *montre* to a watch; the old faſhioned word, within my memory, was "*orloge*," which may be from the Latin or German, as well as from the French.

There follows a criticiſm on *jardelow* or *gare de l'eau*, as the author expreſſes it, a word of which Scotſmen, unleſs ſuperior to national reproaches,

are not wont to treat. It means, "foul water or "other noiſome things thrown from a window." The vulgar amongſt us have turned a French phraſe, *gare l'eau*, into a ſingle word, and have perverted both its ſound and its ſignification; and this example is produced for proving that, in the days of Queen Mary, the Scottiſh language abounded in French words and even in Galliciſms.

By the like mode of reaſoning we might prove, that, at this day, the French language abounds in Angliciſms, for the French call a large piece of veal, "un grand *roſbife* de veau."

"Moyen," alſo produced in illuſtration by the author of the *Enquiry*, is merely the word *mean*, ſpelt in a different way.

The two remaining examples are the adverb *meſchantlie*, a word formed from the French *meſchant*, and uſed by the Queen herſelf; and *appuy* uſed by Secretary Lethington.

Some better evidence will be neceſſary before we can account for the numerous Galliciſms that occur in the Scottiſh copy.

That ſuch Galliciſms do often occur in it, is hardly diſputed, and the following examples, all taken from the *firſt* letter, will compleatly eſtabliſh the propoſition.

"Maid my *eſtait*," "faire un état," means in French, "to make up a liſt of the officers of one's houſehold."

"He belevit to die for glaidneſs."—"Cuidoit "mourir d'allegreſſe."

"Mak fault."—"faire faûte"—I ſuppoſe that no one will diſpute the certainty of the Galliciſm *here*. "He ſchew me *of* ſa mony lytil "flatteries"—in the Scottiſh language, this means, "he *gave me an account* of ſo mony "lytil

" lytil flatteries." Now this is plainly wide of the ſenſe, and we muſt tranſlate the words into French in order to diſcover their import: " m'a tant montrée *de* petites flateries."

" Beforce, flattering;" this is very remarkable. The French were wont to uſe the word *force* as an adjective; hence, " par force flaterie," means, " by *much* flattering."

SECTION VI.

THE author of the *Enquiry* ſeems confident, that the *firſt* letter was originally compoſed in the Scottiſh language.

" As far as I can judge, ſays he, there appears, " in the Scottiſh copy, *a ſpirit and ſo happy a turn* " *of phraſe altogether peculiar to that language*, that " plainly denotes it to be altogether original in " every ſenſe."*

In evidence of this propoſition, the author ſelects ſome phraſes, which will be conſidered hereafter, and he thus cloſes his criticiſms. " Theſe " few examples of proverbial ſentences and " phraſes, *peculiar to the Scottiſh language, and to* " *which the French have nothing ſimilar in their* " *language*, are ſufficient to ſhew that this Scottiſh " copy—is not a tranſlation at all, but a true ori- " ginal in every ſenſe."

His examples are very ill choſen; for, inſtead of being *peculiar to the Scottiſh language, and to which the French have nothing ſimilar in theirs*, they are generally in the French idiom, and they are more eſpecially ſo than in the Scottiſh.

The author produces *ten* examples, and it is fit that they ſhould be ſeparately conſidered.

1. " A gentleman of the Earl of Lennox came " and *made his commendatiouns to me*," it is ſaid that " this phraſe is ſtill uſed in the Scottiſh language, to ſignify, " *he preſented his compliments.*"

To ſay, " faites mes recommendations à un " tel," is more certainly French, than " make " my commendatiouns" is Scottiſh. *Commender*, no

* *Enquiry*, P. 111. 112.

doubt,

doubt, may be employed abuſively in French, for *recommender*, and ſo, perhaps, *commendatiouns* may be employed in the Scottiſh language, for *recommendatiouns*; but there occurs no ſingularity of idiom here; the phraſe "to *do* commendations:" is in Ainſworth's Engliſh and Latin Dictonary, and is explained to mean, "aliquem ſalvere "jubere," and yet it has a very French air.

2. "This ſpeech was *of his awin head.*" The French have a phraſe altogether ſimilar, "dire "une choſe *de ſon chef*," implies, "to ſpeak with-"out warrant or authority."

3. "There is no *receipt* can ſerve againis "feir;" this expreſſion ſounds juſt as well, if not better, in the French language, "a la crainte "point de *remede.*" And Madame des Houliers, ſays, "la raiſon contre les paſſions n'eſt pas une "ſure *remede.*"

If the Scottiſh writer had had the French word *remede* before him, he could not have tranſlated it more aptly, than by the word *receipt.*

4. "He has ever the teir in his eye," "il a "toujours la larme a l'œil;" is not this *ſomewhat ſimilar* to the Scottiſh phraſe?

5. "Fals race," the French uſe *race* ironically, and in a bad ſenſe, for, "des gens qui s'adonnent "ordinairement à faire du mal."

6. "They have been *at ſchullis* togidder." I know not whether this be a Scottiſh expreſſion, but I know that the French ſay, "vous allez tous "*à la méme écóle*," to ſignify, "you all join in a "ſtory," or, "all of you act in the ſame manner."

7. "He hes almaiſt ſlane me with his breath,"—"m'a preſque tueé de ſon haleine," is French; ſo that the phraſe s not *altogether* peculiar to the Scottiſh language.

8. "Ye

8. "Ye have ſair going to ſee ſeik folk;" granting *ſair* and *ſeik* to be the true reading inſtead of *fair* and *ſik*, I ſtill do not ſee any proverbial ſentence or phraſe here peculiar to the Scottiſh language. If Lord Livingſton* ſpake the words in his own language, *that* muſt have been the original, even although the letter had been written in French.

9. "He gave me a check in the quick"—the Scottiſh copy is ſomewhat different, "he gives "me ſum chekis, of that quhilk I feir, even in the quick," the ſenſe is very obſcure, it is not expreſſed in the Latin, nor yet in the French. "To give me *chekis*" cannot be a phraſe peculiar to the Scottiſh language, for it alludes to the game of cheſs, and the phraſe occurs both in the French and the Engliſh languages; "even in the "quick" differs little from "meſme au vif."

10. "Excuſe that thing that is *ſcribblit*,"—how can it be ſaid that "to ſcribble" is peculiar to the Scottiſh language, and a phraſe to which the French have nothing ſimilar? if *mal écrit* be objected to, as being a circumlocution, ſurely *griſonné* anſwers exactly to "ſcribblit;" and, in the figurative as well as the literal ſenſe, *griſonneur* is "a ſcribbler."

The author of the *Enquiry* ought to have produced more appoſite examples of that ſpirit and happy turn of phraſe, peculiar to the Scottiſh language, for which, it ſeems, the firſt letter is ſo diſtinguiſhed.

* The perſon here meant is William, ſixth Lord Livingſton. I cannot ſay how it happens that, in the Scottiſh copy, he is called *Monſieur*, as if he had been a foreigner.

SEC-

SECTION VII.

MR. Goodall has proved, beyond poſſibility of cavil, that the *firſt* letter as we now have it in French, was tranſlated into that language from the Latin copy.

Whether this demonſtration be alſo applicable to the *ſecond* and *third* letters will be the ſubject of after enquiry. But it is plainly not applicable to the *fourth*, *fifth*, *ſixth* and *ſeventh* letters, or to the fragment of the *eighth*; for, there is no evidence that *they* were ever tranſlated into Latin at all, an important circumſtance, which Mr. Goodall and the author of the *Enquiry* have, in great meaſure, overlooked.

With reſpect to them, the queſtion is, whether were they written in the French language and tranſlated into the Scottiſh, or, written in the Scottiſh language and tranſlated into the French?

There are circumſtances which might lead us to conjecture that, with reſpect to the *fourth* and the following letters, the French is the *original*, and the Scottiſh, a *tranſlation*.

The words *original* and *tranſlation* are employed for the ſake of brevity, but they mean, "that the "Scottiſh copy is a verſion from the French," not, "that the French is the original compoſition "of Queen Mary."

That the French, in this ſenſe of the word, is the *original*, and the Scottiſh, a *tranſlation* from it, appears probable, for, "in many places the "French is intelligible and even clear, while the "Scottiſh copy is embarraſſed, and preciſely in "the ſtyle of a perſon who tranſlates from a

" foreign language into his own, without poſſeſs-
" ing an exact knowledge of the ſubject and ſenſe
" of the original."

The proofs that I am to offer of this propoſition will not be underſtood by thoſe who have no more acquaintance with the French language, than what may enable them to diſcover the general ſenſe of compoſitions in that language. But, ſhould this little tract fall into the hands of the laſt hiſtorian of Queen Mary, I make no doubt that *he* will be able to judge ſcientifically of the merit of the following obſervations.

Let. iv. *Fr.* " Faut il—que la folie d'une femme
" —ſoit cauſe de vous donner deplaiſir." *Sc.*
" *Muſt* the foly of ane woman, be occaſioun of
" diſpleſure unto you." In this place, *faut-il*, does not mean *muſt*, but *ought* or *ſhould*, and *that* is the ſenſe of the writer.

Fr. " Veu que je n'y pouvoye mettre remede
" ſans le donner à cognoiſtre," this, probably, means, " ſince I could not help it, without diſ-
" cloſing the ſituation of the woman;" and, it ſeems to relate to a domeſtic circumſtance, to the accident of one of the Queen's maids having been got with child under ſome promiſe of marriage.

In the Scottiſh copy, the words are, " con-
" ſidering that I culd not have remeidit thairunto
" without knawing it;" which is an expreſſion altogether unintelligible.

Fr. " Je m'en dépeſcherai." *Sc.* " I will red
" myſelf of it." The ſenſe is, " I will make haſte
" to do it," that is, " I will inſtantly diſmiſs the
" woman."

Fr. " Et hazarderai de l'entreprendre." *Sc.*
" And hazard to cauſe it to be interprizit and
" taken in hand." *Where* is the happy turn of phraſe here? let any reader, converſant in the two lan-

languages, pronounce, *which* is the *original*, and *which*, the *tranſlation*.

Fr. " Je vous prie de m'*en* donner une *autre*," that is, " I beg you to chuſe *another* woman for " me to ſerve in the *ſame* ſtation;" not, as the Scottiſh copy has, " I beſeik you give me *ane*," which omits, *autre*, and overlooks the import of, *m'en*; the phraſe, " *donner* un domeſtique à quel- " qu'un," is peculiarly French.

Fr. " Ou bien j'en prendrai quelqu'une, dont " j'eſtime que la façon vous contentera," erroneouſly tranſlated, " or ellis I will tak *ſic* as ſall " content you *for their conditiouns*."

Fr. " Vous meffiez de moy, qui vous veux " mettre hors de doute & declarer mon innocence." This is as clear as *words* can be, when the *thing* alluded to is not certainly known. The Scottiſh copy has " *miſtruſt me*, *bot when* I will put you out " of doubt, and cleir myſelf." Words without energy, and, indeed without meaning.

Fr. " Si vous l'acceptez ſans ceremonie," is thus ungracefully rendered, " gif ye will accept " it, and mak na ceremonie at it."

Let. v. *Fr.* " Que vous vous reſouldriez en " toutes choſes;" that is, " that you would come " to a determined reſolution as to every particu- " lar." But, the Scottiſh copy has, " that ye " wald *reſolve* all."

Fr. " Je vous *veux* bien avertir que vous pre- " niez bien en garde;" that is, " I muſt particu- " larly caution you to be upon your guard." But, the Scottiſh copy has, " I *advertiſit* you weill " to tak heid;" as if the ſuppoſed writer of this letter referred to what ſhe had *formerly* ſaid, inſtead of introducing a ſubject *for the firſt time*.

In the French, Queen Mary is made to give the following account of what the Earl of Huntley ſaid to her, " & me dit, que vous l'aviez re- " quis,

" quis, qu'il vous eſcrivit ce que je vous vou-
" droye dire, & ou & quand je pourroye aller à
" vous, & ce que vous deliberiez faire de luy, &
" ſur cela il me remonſtra, que c'etoit une folle
" enterpriſe, & que pour mon honneur, je ne
" vous pouvoye prendre à mari puiſque vous eſtiez
" marié, n'y aller avec vous, & que ſes gens
" meſmes ne le ſouffriroient pas, voire que les
" ſeigneurs contrediroient a ce que en ſeroit
" propoſé. Bref, il ſemble qu'il nous ſoit de
" tout contraire."

Nothing can be more perſpicuous, in general, than this account; the only thing obſcure in it, is the expreſſion, " ce que vous deliberiez faire de " luy." If this be joined with, " qu'il vous " eſcrivit," it may ſeem impoſſible to explain how the Earl of Bothwell ſhould have deſired the Earl of Huntley to write to him, what uſe he [Bothwell] propoſed to make of him [Huntley.] But " me dit," muſt be joined with, " ce que " vous deliberiez faire de lui," and the ſenſe is, that Huntley told the Queen, or that the writer of the letter meant to have it ſuppoſed that Huntley told the Queen, what uſe Bothwell intended to make of him in the project of the *enlevement*.

In the Scottiſh copy, the purport of the converſation is totally changed, " he tald me that ye had " willit him to write to you, that that I ſuld ſay, " and quhair and quhen he ſuld cum to me, and " that that ye ſuld do tuiching him, and thair- " upon hes preichit unto me that it wes ane " fuliſche interpryſe, and that, with myne honour, " I culd never mary you, ſeeing that being maryit " ye did carry me away, and that his folkis wald " not ſuffer it, and that the lordis wald unſay " themſelfis and wald deny that they had ſaid. To " be ſchort, he is all contrarie."

To

To ſay nothing of the ſervile interpretation of "ce que," into "that that," the ſenſe of the French and of the Scottiſh is, in this paſſage, irreconcileably different, and the difference is ſo very great, that we can ſcarcely attribute it to the mere miſtakes of a tranſlator.

Mr. Goodall ſaw this, and, therefore, he deviſed an hypotheſis to account for it. "In Letter v. "p. 38. ſays he, there is an *emendation* by one "or other of the tranſlators; the Scottiſh copy "makes the Queen uſe [he meant "report,"] "theſe words to the Earl, *that, with my honour, I "could never marry you, ſeeing that, being married, "ye did carry me away.* This being a plain anti-"cipation in ſpeaking of the Earl's rape of the "Queen as paſt, which had not yet happened, "the cautious tranſlators thought fit to throw it "out, and inſtead of the laſt five words there, "we find the words, *ni aller avec vous*, in the "French."*

This hypotheſis, however ingenious, will not ſtand the teſt of ſober criticiſm.

If it appear, from any one paſſage of the letter in queſtion, that the French is the *original*, and the Scottiſh, a *tranſlation*, the hypotheſis of Mr. Goodall falls to the ground.

Beſides, Lord Huntley is ſuppoſed, in the Scottiſh copy, to remonſtrate to the Queen againſt her raſh and ill-adviſed undertaking, [*une folle entrepriſe*] that is, her purpoſe of being carried off as by force, and then of marrying Bothwell, yet the very next words imply that Bothwell had already carried her off, and it is added, that even the vaſſals and dependants of Lord Huntley would not ſuffer it, that is, would not concur in the enterprize. All this is ſo monſtrouſly abſurd, that

* *V.* i. *P.* 98.

we

we cannot ſuppoſe it to have been contained in a real letter, and ſtill leſs, if poſſible, can we aſcribe it to the invention of the enemies of Queen Mary, who, however wicked they might have been, were certainly intelligent and judicious.

It ſhould ſeem that the Scottiſh tranſlator, either fell into an error, through his ſcanty knowledge of the French language, or that, from a leſs pardonable cauſe, he endeavoured to touch up and improve the original.

In the words that follow, he again miſrepreſents the meaning of what Lord Huntley is ſuppoſed to have ſaid, "voire que les ſeigneurs contredi-" roient a ce que en ſeroit propoſé;" by tranſlating it, "that the lordis wald unſay thamſelfis, and " wald deny *that* they had ſaid," as if the French had been, "s'en dediroient de ce par eux meſmes " propoſé." Here the tranſlator ſeems to have gueſſed, that the expreſſion alluded to *Ainſlie's ſupper*, and to the famous bond of the nobility, and, on that miſtaken gueſs, to have formed his tranſlation. But to proceed.

Fr. "Cependant je ne ſuis à mon aiſe, car il " eſt ja tard, & n'a pas tenu à moy que vous " n'y ayez penſé de bonne heure;" that is, " meanwhile I am in an uneaſy ſituation, for the " place ought to have been fixed upon before now, " and it was not owing to any neglect of mine " that you did not think of it more timeouſly."

The Scottiſh copy departs from the original and exhibits an aſſemblage of words without connexion or meaning,—" and in the mean time I am " ſeik, I will differ; as touching the matter, it is " tó late: it was not lang of me that ye have not " thocht thairupon in time." Can partiality for an hypotheſis induce any perſon, although but moderately ſkilled in the French language, to aſſert that

that the Scottiſh copy is, at this place, the *original*, and the French, a *tranſlation?*

Fr. " Je n'oſe commettre ces lettres à voſtre " beau frere, *qui n'uſera auſſi de diligence*;" the ſenſe is, " I cannot venture to give the charge of " theſe letters to Lord Huntley, not only becauſe " I miſtruſt him, but becauſe he will not be expe- " ditious enough in delivering them." The Scottiſh copy ſays, " I dar not traiſt your brother with " thir letters, nor *with the diligence.*"

Fr. " Depechez vous de me faire reſponſe, " afin que je n'en faille, *ne me voulant pas fier* en " voſtre frere, car *il en a babillé* & y eſt du tout " contraire;" that is, " make haſte to return me " an anſwer, that I may not fail [miſcarry in my " part of the enterprize] for I do not chuſe to rely " on Lord Huntley; he has been blabbing it, and " is wholly againſt it;" this alſo is miſunderſtood in the Scottiſh copy. " Diſpatch the anſwer that " I faill not, and *put na traiſt* in your brother for " this enterpryſe, for *he hes tald it*, and is alſo all " aganis it."

Several emphatical words, which occur in the French of Letter v. are omitted in the Scottiſh copy, and this affords additional evidence that the French is the *original*, and the Scottiſh, a *tranſlation.*

Thus, " his folkis," inſtead of " evin his awin " folkis." *Fr.* " Ses gens *meſmes*; " he is all " contrarie," inſtead of " he *kytheth* to be alto- " giddir contrarie to us," or, " our enterpriſe" *Fr.* " Il *ſemble* qu'il nous ſoit de tout contraire."

Let. vi. *Fr.* " Quant à jouer le mien, [per- " ſonnage] je ſcais comme je m'y dois gouver- " ner, me ſouvenant de la façon que les choſes " ont été deliberées." *Sc.* " As for the handling " of myſelf I hard it anis weill devyſit:" here a material

material part of the French is omitted, and the reaſon, ſuppoſed to have been given by the Queen, is loſt in the tranſlation.

Fr. "Non pas afin de me forcer, & tenir cap-
"tive." *Sc.* "Not to conſtrane me;" this is imperfect and does not expreſs half of the meaning of the French.

Fr. "A ce que, puis apres me ſervant loyau-
"ment, vous me puiſſiez preſenter une humble
"requeſte conjointe toutes fois avec importu-
"nité;" that is, "until, in conſequence of your
"loyal ſervices, you might preſent a humble but
"earneſt petition" [in the way of marriage.]

The Scottiſh tranſlator does but gueſs at the import of this paſſage, and he gueſſes ill—"and
"to be abill to ſerve me faithfully, to uſe ane
"humble requeiſt *joynit to an importune ac-*
"*tioun.*

Fr. "Que vous eſtes forcé par neceſſité de
"faire ainſi voſtre *pourſuite* à l'encontre de vos
"enemis." *Sc.* "That ye ar conſtranit to mak
"*perſute* aganis your enemies." The tranſlator, not underſtanding the ſenſe of *pourſuite*, has made Bothwell *purſue* his enemies, not, *ſolicite the Queen's hand.*

Fr. "Vous aurez dequoi dire aſſez," that is,
"you will have topics enough for apology." *Sc.*
"Ye *ſall* ſay aneuch."

Let. vii. *Fr.* "Depuis ma lettre eſcrite." *Sc.*
"Since I wrote my former letter;" which is very literal and altogether in the French idiom.

Fr. "Et d'autre part qu'il craint, que s'il en
"ſurvenoit quelque trouble, on ne l'eſtimaſt
"ingrat, comme s'il m'avoit trahie," the difficulty ſuggeſted by Lord Huntley is thus ſet forth in the Scottiſh copy, "and that he feirit thair
"ſuld

" ſuld ſum troubil happin of it: of the uther ſyde, " that it ſuld be ſaid that he wer unthankfull to " have betrayit me." It is not in the power of man to diſcover the tendency of theſe words unleſs he conſult the French.

Fr. " Je m'en vay achever ma depeſche." *Sc.* " I go *to wryte* my diſpatche"—as if it had not been written already.

Of Letter viii. there are only a few words remaining in the French, but, few as they are, they have been miſunderſtood by the Scottiſh tranſlator.

Fr. " Monſieur ſi l'ennüy de voſtre abſence, " celui de voſtre oubly, la crainte du danger, " tant *prouvé* d'un chacun, à voſtre tant aymée " perſonne." *Sc.* " My Lord, gif the diſple- " ſure of your abſence, of your forgetfulnes, " the feir of danger ſa *promiſit* be everie ane " to your ſa luifit perſone."

In one paſſage, at leaſt, of the Scottiſh copy, the French word ſeems to have been miſunderſtood, " *following* the misfortunes," inſtead of, " according to," or, " after the form of" ["*ſuivant* " les malheurs."]

There are alſo frequent Galliciſms in it; ſuch as, " the diſdane that I cannot be in outward effect " yours.—My only wealth—ſall not part furth of " my boſom—to the quhilk I pretend—for evil " nor gude ſall nevir mak me go from it." ["Car " mal ni bien ne m'en fera jamais departir."]

SECTION VIII.

I AM now to conclude with an obſervation, which, perhaps, may ſurpriſe the antagoniſts of Mr. Goodall, as well as the favourers of his hypotheſis.

Mr. Goodall has proved, beyond poſſibility of cavil, that the *firſt* letter, as we now have it, was tranſlated into French from the Latin copy.

It is likely that he imagined that his demonſtration was equally applicable to the *ſecond* and *third* letters. The favourers of his hypotheſis ſeem to have taken this for granted, and his antagoniſts ſeem to have acquieſced in the ſuppoſition, by reſorting, as has been already explained, to another hypotheſis.

All parties, however, have proceeded on a miſtake in fact, and the *intrinſic* evidence, as to the forgery of the *ſecond* and *third* letters, is no more aſcertained at this day, than it was before Mr. Goodall began to draw up his demonſtration as to the *firſt* letter.

The author of the *Enquiry* ſays, "I ſhall not "tire my reader with going through all Mr. "Goodall's ingenious remarks: I ſhall only quote "two or three examples from the *firſt* letter, and "refer to his book *for the reſt*."*

For *the reſt*, excepting as to the *firſt* letter, we look in vain into the laborious work of Mr. Goodall.

Mr. Goodall arranges his arguments under different propoſitions; let us ſee whether they can be applied to the *ſecond* and *third* letters.

* *Enquiry*. P. 80. 81.

1. He

1. He ſays,* " that the letters were originally " written in the Scottiſh language, appears mani- " feſtly from ſeveral phraſes that occur in them, " peculiar to that language."

In ſupport of this propoſition, he does not quote a ſingle phraſe, or even word, in the *ſecond* and *third* letters.

2. He ſays, " Buchanan by miſtaking the " reading of ſome Scottiſh words in his copy, has " run himſelf into nonſenſe, and drawn in his " French tranſlator after him."†

It ſeems that Buchanan's memory was ſo treacherous, that he could not recollect the meaning of his own forgeries.

Be this as it will, Mr. Goodall produces no example in proof of his *ſecond* propoſition from the *ſecond* letter, and only one from the *third*, and it is an example which I will preſently ſhew to be totally inconcluſive.

It is this. *Let.* iii. *Sc.* " Utherwayis I will " think that my malhure and the gude handling " of *hir*, that hes not the third part of the faith- " full nor willing obedience unto you that I " beir, hes wyn, aganis my will, that advantage " over me," &c. *Lat.* " Alioqui ſuſpicabor " fieri meo malo fato, & ſiderum favore erga " *illas*, quæ nec tertiam habent partem fidelitatis, " & voluntatis tibi obſequendi quam ego habeo, " ut *ipſæ*, me invitâ,—priorem apud te locum " gratiæ occupaverint." *Fr.* " Autrement j'eſti- " meray que cela ſe faict par mon mal-heureuxe

* *V.* 1. P. 81.

† *V.* 1. P. 85. One noted proof of this is. Sc. *Bybil* [ſuppoſed to be an error for *Bille* or *Bylle*.] Lat. *Biblia*. Fr. *Bible*. The error in the Latin is monſtrous, but it ſhould ſeem that *Bille* or *Bylle* was not the word meant in the Scottiſh, it was rather *Babil*. [Fr. *mon Babil*; in colloquial Engliſh, " my chat."]

" deſtin, & par la faveur des aſtres envers *celles*, " qui toutes fois n'ont une tierce de loyauté, & " volonté que j'ay de vous obeir, ſi *elles*—malgré " moy, occupent le premier lieu de faveur."

Mr. Goodall obſerves, " that Buchanan's Latin " and the French tranſlation from it, have ex- " preſſed the word *hir*, which we find in the " Scottiſh, in the ſingular number, as if they had " found it written *thir* in the plural.—And yet *hir*, " as it appears in the Scottiſh, *would* ſeem to be " the word that was deſigned at firſt, becauſe it " ſeems to be meant of the Earl's wife.†

The inference appears to be, that the Latin tranſlator miſtook *hir* for *thir*, and that the French tranſlator imitated him in his miſtake.

Were there any thing uncommon in the uſe of the plural, when the ſingular was meant, it would hurt the cauſe of Queen Mary: for ſhe herſelf uſed that mode of expreſſion in a genuine letter ſtill extant. In 1570, ſhe thus wrote to the Duke of Norfolk. " I perceive the ſatisfaction " you have of my plain dealing with you, as I " muſt do of my duty, conſidering how much I " am beholden to you many ways. I am glad " the grant of my good will is ſo agreable to " you. Albeit I know myſelf to be ſo unworthy " to be ſo well liked of one of ſuch wiſdom and " good qualities, yet I do think my happe is " great in that, yea much greater than my de- " ſert. Therefore I will be about to uſe myſelf " ſo, that, ſo far as God ſhall give me grace, " you ſhall never have cauſe to diminiſh your " good conceit and favour of me, while I ſhall " eſteem and reſpect you in all my doings ſo long " as I live, as you would wiſh your own to do. " Now, good my Lord, more words to this

† *V.* 1. P. 90.

" pur-

" purpoſe would be unſeemly to my preſent con-
" dition, and importunable to you, amongſt ſo
" many buſineſs: But *this* truſt you, as written
" by *them*, that *means* unfeignedly."*

Here Queen Mary uſes *them* for *her*, which, in the Scottiſh dialect, would be *thir* for *hir*, and, although ſpeaking in the *plural*, ſhe means *herſelf*.

This inaccuracy, in the confounding the plural and ſingular, affords no argument either way. In Letter i. Lord Livingſton is made to ſay, " the " folk," for " Bothwell;" and " them," for " Darnley."†

Beſides, Mr. Goodall admits that when the letters were ſhewn at York, the word was ſuppoſed to be in the plural,‡ and it ſtill remains uncertain, whether the Scottiſh copy had not the word in the plural, as the Latin and the French have.

3. " Buchanan has miſtaken the import of " ſome words which he read well enough, and " thereby introduced ſometimes nonſenſe or blun-" ders into his own Latin, through which they " were tranſmitted into the French verſion."

With reſpect to the *ſecond* and *third* letters, no example is brought in ſupport of this propoſition, and the like is the caſe, as to propoſitions 4, 5,

* *Hardwicke* i. 194. Queen Mary concludes her letters to the Duke of Norfolk, thus, " your own, faithfull to death, " Queen of Scots, My Norfolk——your own Queen." It has been aſked, when did Queen Mary look upon her matrimonial engagement with Bothwell as diſſolved: I ſuppoſe from the time at which ſhe became perſuaded that Bothwell was indeed one of the murderers of her former huſband; but this is merely conjecture.

† *Goodall. V.* ii. P. 17.

‡ *V.* 1. P. 90. v. 2. P. 152.

and

and 6, which, therefore, I ſhall barely ſtate in the word of the ingenious critic.§

4. "Buchanan, by uſing ambiguous or inaccu-
" rate words or expreſſions, has ſometimes miſled
" his French tranſlator."

5. "Buchanan not only read wrong, but ei-
" ther he or his amanuenſis wrote ſometimes
" ſhamefully wrong."

6. "Some omiſſions alſo happened in the La-
" tin verſion, and the very ſame things are want-
" ing in the French."

Thus, through ſome ſtrange fatality, the *intrinſic* evidence of the fabrication of the *ſecond* and *third* letters is ſtill a *deſideratum* in a controverſy which has, already, given occaſion to many volumes.

I know not whether the vindicators of Queen Mary will think it of moment to ſupply this blank with new arguments, or will chuſe to rely on the *extrinſic* evidence, as fully able to ſupport their hypotheſis.

It is fit, however, that every circumſtance reſpecting the *ſecond* and *third* letters, be laid before them, leſt they ſhould inadvertently reſort to inſufficient materials.

There is much reaſon to believe that, "the
" French is the *original* of the *ſecond* and *third*
" letters, and that the Scottiſh copy is a mere
" *tranſlation* from the French."

I do not inſiſt on this circumſtance, that there is an air of eaſe and originality in the French, which cannot be perceived in the Scottiſh; *that* is a matter of taſte, and of it every reader muſt judge for himſelf.

But I am to point out ſeveral erroneous and even unintelligible expreſſions in the Scottiſh

§ *V.* 1. P. 91. 94. 95. 97.

copy,

copy, which have obviouſly proceeded, either from careleſſneſs, or from want of knowledge in the French tongue, while the correſpondent expreſſions, uſed by the French writer, are perfectly juſt and clear.

Let. ii. *Fr.* " Il me reduict en memoire toutes " les choſes qui me peuvent faire entendre qu'il " m'aime." *Sc.* " He *puttis me in remembrance* " of all things that may mak me beleve he luiſis " me."

The word *memoire* has enabled the Scottiſh tranſlator to give the general meaning of this ſentence. It is plain, however, that he did not comprehend the particular import of the phraſe, " il " me reduict en memoire."

" Reduire en memoire" means " to draw up " a liſt or inventory;" the expreſſion, as here uſed, is highly ſarcaſtical and inſulting, " he makes out, " for my uſe, *a catalogue* of all the circumſtances " in his conduct which may make me underſtand " that he loves me."

Fr. " Tant *il* me faſche." *Sc.* " I am ſo trou- " billit *with it*," the ſenſe is, " *he* ſo troubles or " vexes me."

Fr. " Qui s'en ira au jour aſſigné au ſieur " Balfurd." *Sc.* " Quha gais to ane day of law " of the laird of Balfour," " a day of law of the " laird of Balfouris," is an unintelligible phraſe. The meaning of the French ſeems to be, " who " will go, on the day appointed, to Mr. Balfour;" we know not to what circumſtance this alludes.

Fr. " Je ne vous en dirai davantage, ſi non " pour vous prier *que me faciez entendre de voſtre* " *voyage.*" *Sc.* " I will ſay na farther, ſaiſing that " I pray you *to ſend me gude newis of your voyage*," inſtead of, " *give me an account of your journey* or " *expedition.*"

Let.

Let. iv. *Fr.* " Vous me faciez entendre voſtre " affection." *Sc.* " To diſcharge your heart " unto me." It is difficult to ſay, how ſo plain a French phraſe ſhould have been disfigured in a tranſlation.*

Fr. " Par la faveur des aſtres;" this is certainly right, for " par mon mal-heureux deſtin" goes before. *Sc.* " The *gud handling*," there muſt be ſome blunder here.

Fr. " *Car* je vous puis m'attribuer comme mien." *Sc.* " *Gif* it be ſa that I may appropriate;" this verſion is incorrect, and does no more than aim at the ſenſe of the French.

Er. " Comme l'oyſeau eſchappé de la cage, " ou la tourtre, qui eſt ſans compagne, ainſi je " demeurerai ſeule, pour pleurer voſtre abſence, " quelque brieve qu'elle puiſſe eſtre."

The Scottiſh tranſlator, ſeeing ſomething about a bird eſcaping from its cage, ſet himſelf to compoſe this admirable verſion. " Mak gud watch, " gif the bird eſchaip out of the cage, or without " hir mate. As the turtur I ſall remain alone " for to lament the abſence, how ſchort that ſa " evir it be."

He who fancies that there is here a Scottiſh original and a French copy, may enjoy his opinion in private, but he will hardly venture to expoſe it to the world.

Fr. " Ceſte lettre fera volontiers ce que je ne " pourray faire moy-meſme, ſi, d'aventure, " comme je crains, vous ne dormez deja." *Sc.* " This letter will do with ane gude hart, that

* There occurs, near the beginning of this letter, " pour " *excuſer* voſtre affaire," and the Scottiſh has " to *excuſe* " your affaire;" but I ſuſpect that the French has been erroneouſly tranſcribed, and that the original word was " exe- " cuter."

" thing

" thing quilk I cannot do myſelf, gif it be not " that I have feir that ye ar in ſleping."

Here the reader is entreated to try, whether he can make any ſenſe of the Scottiſh copy. For my own part, I am perſuaded, that the tranſlator rendered into the Scottiſh language words and phraſes which he underſtood when ſeparately taken, but not when taken all together.

Are there more proofs requiſite to ſhew that the French of the *ſecond* and *third* letters is the *original*, and the Scottiſh, a *tranſlation?*

Thus have I endeavoured, according to my profeſſed intention, to prune off ſome ſuperfluities from the argument in defence of the honour of Mary Queen of Scots.

FINIS.

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